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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

THE COMING CHURCH.

Its Temple is all space; its Shrine the good heart; its Creed all truth; its Ritual works of love and utility; its Profession of Faith a manly life, works without, faith within, love of God and man. It bids man do duty, and take what comes of it—grief or gladness. It is meek and reverent of truth, but scorns all falsehood, though upheld by the ancient and honourable of the earth. It bows to no idols of wood or flesh, of gold or parchment; neither Mammon, the Church, the Bible, nor yet Jesus, but God only. It takes all helps it can get; counts no good word profane, though a heathen spoke it; no lie sacred, though the greatest prophet had said the word. Its redeemer is within; its salvation within; its heaven and its oracle of God. The personal Jesus is its encouragement, for he reveals the possible of man. Its watchword is: Be as perfect as God. It makes each man his own priest; but accepts him gladly that speaks a holy word. Its prayer in words, in feeling, in thought, is this: Thy will be done; its Church that of all holy souls, the Church of the first-born, called by whatever name.

—*Theodore Parker.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1919 NUMBER 11

A BENEDICTION.

Father, bind us each to each and all to thee. Bind us to thee as thou dost reveal thyself in near duties, in every-day opportunities, in holy calls that come to us from our suffering kind. Bind us one to another and all to thee, Father, in deathless hopes, unmeasured aspirations, the boundless love of the human heart, that thy peace may abide with us, and whether we go or whether we stay we are ever with thee.—Amen.

J. LL. J.

Nothing could be more consistent than the refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to join hands with representatives of Protesantism in the work of church unity. The Papal hierarchy, today as always, is logical. Why should "the one true church," founded by the Master himself, enter into any relations with those who have deliberately exiled themselves from her fold, and thus become schismatics? If the Protestants are yearning to end the divisions of the Christian world, and unite once again all followers of Jesus, they may find without difficulty the way which they should take. The road to Rome lies wide open to their feet! The Papacy already has that unity which the Protestants themselves have thrown away in wantonness and error, and now would seek again! In all this is sublime consistency, not to be taken lightly by the sectarians of Protestantism. Church unity means *unity*—that is to say, the ending of division, the elimination of the denominations which now distract and disrupt Christianity. To expect to achieve unity, and at the same time have our various sects maintain unimpaired their individual integrity, is to expect as futile a thing as to eat your cake and have it too. The consummation of church unity means turning either to the extreme right or to the extreme left; there is no middle road of compromise. We must either return to Rome, and gain unity through recognition of her autocratic supremacy; or else we must turn to some such extreme democratization of religion as is suggested by the "community church" movement. We can all stand together either by all becoming Catholics, or else by all combining in the work of building that new and universal church which shall accept the community in place of the sect as the unit of spiritual integration, and define membership in terms not of private salvation but of public citizenship. In either case, the denomination as we know it in the Protestant world, disappears. Schemes of federation, inter-church fellowship, inter-denominational co-operation, are all doomed to failure. Our Protestant sects have to learn the lesson of losing one's life as the condition of finding it.

J. H. H.

It will be an occasion of vast wonderment to the historian of the future, that it was not until the year 1919 that the people of the most cosmopolitan city in the world were permitted to enjoy a game of baseball on a Sunday afternoon. Thus long in New York have survived the traditions of our New England Puritan forefathers! This year, however, the legal barriers were removed, and on Sunday, May 4th, the first professional games played. In Manhattan the attendance numbered more than 35,000; and in Brooklyn it reached a total of 25,000. Who would say that any of these great multitudes did or suffered harm? Who would not testify that their presence in the open air of a perfect summer day, as witnesses of a clean and high-class athletic contest, was a benefit not only to each individual personally, but also to the community at large? To the credit of the religious forces of New York, be it said that they have acted in this case with admirable wisdom and public spirit. A few ministers and laymen have protested; but the great majority have recognized that, in a city like New York at least, the Sabbath is better "kept" with baseball than without.

J. H. H.

In a recent issue of the *New York Law Journal*, it is editorially suggested that lawyers should consider carefully whether or not they are justified in giving legal assistance to the I. W. W. or its members. After citing the record of a case in the U. S. District Court of Washington, where the I. W. W. petitioners were ordered deported on the ground that they had been "advocating the unlawful destruction of property," the editorial states, "Lawyers may well consider most seriously whether they should give legal aid to such dangerous adversaries of our government and of our fundamental rights and liberties." We are reminded by this statement of the difficulties which were encountered during the War by persons accused of sedition and disloyalty, in securing counsel to represent them in court proceedings. Quite apart from all question of the character of the teachings of the I. W. W., and of the methods and purposes of its members, it would seem to be an elementary principle of justice that a man accused of crime should have his day in court. Even those caught red-handed in abhorrent and

brutal crime have in the past been given counsel and a proper trial. For lawyers as a class to deny their services in the way suggested by the *Law Journal,* to any class of society, would seem justly to call for protest. J. H. H.

In talking of Russia, clear distinction should always be made between the Revolution, the Soviet, and the Bolsheviki. The Revolution was that overturning of the Czar and his tyrannical government which won the acclaim of all free men in 1917. The Soviet is that indigenous and primitive form of local democratic government which so suddenly appeared out of the disturbed soil of Russian revolutionary life after the passing of Nicholas. The Bolsheviki are that extreme left-wing group of the revolutionists who gained control of Russia after the downfall of Kerensky. Approval or disapproval of the Bolshevik regime depends very largely on our attitude toward the general idea of social change, and on what particular mass of misinformation about events in Russia has been brought to our attention. Neither approval nor disapproval, however, should affect in any way our judgment on the Revolution and the Soviet. The Revolution is the greatest and most beneficent event since the French Revolution; while the Soviet is a new and native experiment in democracy which should be granted every opportunity for trial. J. H. H.

"Shall we apply religion to daily life?" asks the *Arbitrator.* "Not unless you want to get hurt," sententiously replies Mr. Bolton Hall. Quite right! The business of applying religion is the most dangerous in all the world. The perfect security with which most so-called "religious" people go about their daily affairs, and the "safe and sane" reputation which they bear among their fellows, is the final demonstration of how far they are from even knowing the first rudiments of religion, let alone applying them. "There is dynamite enough in the New Testament," said Lowell, "if illegitimately applied, to blow all our existing institutions to atoms." To be religious, is to be a friend of things as they ought to be, which is only another way of saying an enemy of things as they are! For such a friend, or enemy, society has today what it has always had—the cross! J. H. H.

The surrender of the Paris Peace Conference to the imperialistic designs of Japan upon China, needs no comment. It is its own best comment! Diplomats and statesmen can do miracles with words; but no verbal magic can conceal the fact that this event marks the defeat of everything for which the Allies fought, and the triumph of everything with which the Germans affrighted the conscience of mankind. We wonder, now, why so noble a stand was made on the Fiume issue. Nay, when the sedition laws are moribund, we shall be tempted to express a wonder as much deeper and wider than that, as the ocean is deeper and wider than a well! J. H. H.

The Great American Atrocity

It is an encouraging thing to note that on May 5th and 6th, a great Conference on Lynching was held in New York under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; that this conference was endorsed by a most distinguished array of public men, including many from the South; that it was addressed by speakers like Charles E. Hughes, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and Moorfield Storey, with words of fierce denunciation and lofty appeal; and that it attracted a degree of interest and attention altogether unusual. One wonders if this important event, carried through with such admirable determination and spirit, is destined to mark the long-postponed awakening of the American people on this issue so vital to the welfare and happiness of the republic. For that we have been indifferent all too many years to this monstrous evil is evident from the most cursory examination of the facts. Indeed, it seems incredible that through a period of more than a generation, practically nothing has been done to end an abomination which has vented the grossest outrage upon our negro countrymen, and put to shame every ideal of the nation's life.

In the last thirty years, according to a report just issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 3,224 persons have been put violently to death by lynching mobs. Of this number, the North has had 219 victims, the West 156, Alaska and other localities 15, and the South 2,834. During the last five years, the North and West together have lynched 21 persons, whereas the South has disposed of 304. "Georgia leads in this unholy ascendancy," says the report, with a total of 386 victims for the thirty year period. Mississippi follows closely with 373 victims; then come Texas with 335, Louisiana with 313, Alabama with 276, Arkansas with 214, Tennessee with 196, Florida with 178, and Kentucky with 169. Of these victims, it is to be noted that no less than 61 were women, 50 of these colored, and 11 white.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war against Germany, lynching suddenly became so popular, and mob rule so terrible a thing in all parts of the Union, that President Wilson was forced to the humiliating task of appealing to his fellow-citizens by formal proclamation, "to make an end of this disgraceful evil." Despite this fact, however, the practice of lynching went on as furiously as ever throughout the remaining period of the struggle. Sixty-three negroes, five of them women, and four white men fell victims to

mob passion in the year 1918. In no case was any member of the mobs convicted in any court; in only two instances were trials held, and in both of these the defendants were acquitted.

The figures in this record are bad enough; but they do not begin to tell the story, when detached from the circumstances of a typical lynching. To put men to death without due process of law, is a serious indictment of any people; but to put them to death with the most hideous cruelties, with the most exquisite refinements of physical torture, is to raise the whole question as to the character and significance of the civilization which we profess. The most dreadful annals of medieval persecution, of the savagery of North American Indians, of the butcheries of ancient wars between barbaric peoples, of the atrocities committed by the German armies in the recent invasions of Belgium and northern France—all these might be searched in vain to find anything to rival the fiendish acts perpetrated on helpless victims by American mobs. Burning alive at the stake is the least of the horrors accompanying these orgies of public violence. Roasting a man to death in an iron cage, crucifixion to beams and trees and barn-doors, gouging out of eyes with red-hot iron bars, slashing and jabbing the womb of an expectant mother, mutilating the quivering flesh of victims not yet dead, or even unconscious, in ways unmentionable in public prints—these are some of the atrocities recorded in this awful tale. And all of them done not by a few men, in a hidden corner, under cloak of darkness, but frequently in public squares, as a public spectacle, with crowds cheering in a frenzy of delight, and women and even little children looking on. There is no possibility of exaggerating the evils committed in these dreadful ebullitions of popular madness and blood-lust. The worst that the crazed imagination can conceive, has somewhere, at sometime, been done. The historical record is as bad as anything that could possibly be invented.

What can be said about lynching at this late date, is only what could have been said, and in a few places has been said, at any time since this horror first became a conspicuous phenomenon of American public life. The idea that it is a particular punishment fitted to one particular crime, has long since broken down; only a few of those done to death by violence last year, for example, were accused or suspected of rape. The theory that prompt and hideous penalty of this kind acts as a deterrent of crime, had disappeared long before lynching began, and the practice has only served to confirm this as a baseless superstition. That lynching, like every form of violence, grows by what it feeds on, is proved by its swift extension from men to women, from negroes to whites, and from southern to northern states. It marks, of course, the complete destruction of those processes of law and order which help to distinguish civilization from barbarism. It is a perfect betrayal of those principles of equal justice which are the pride and glory of our civilization. It constitutes the crowning iniquity of our unrighteous treatment in this country of the negro race. President Wilson was speaking soberly when he declared that every lynching is "a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice . . . and (therefore) vitally affects the honor of the nation and the very character and integrity of our institutions."

All these things are the commonplace of thirty years experience. What gives them new force, indeed momentous significance, at this moment, is the incidence of the Great War, and its resulting problems of peace. We entered the European struggle to vindicate democracy, to protect the weak and defenceless against lawless violence, to end forever the reign of force and terror. We are now engaged in making a peace which shall give security to helpless peoples by enthroning law and goodwill in place of might. And lynching gives the lie to everything that we have undertaken! Here at home, almost without protest or interference, are being done worse things under the ordered conditions of peace, than were done in Europe under the anarchic conditions of open warfare! "Germany has outlawed herself among the nations," said President Wilson, in his appeal for the ending of mob rule, "because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law, and has made lynchers of her armies. Lynchers emulate her disgraceful example." Mr. Hughes, in his address before this recent Conference, echoes this statement when he says, "We have not destroyed the menace of force because we have licked the Kaiser. . . . Lynching is the most deplorable and despicable sign of the Hun spirit." The sincerity of our national spirit, the stability of our national institutions, the worth of the work we want to do in the world—all these are called in question by the lyncher. During the War he discredited and thereby weakened America. Today, in the making of peace, he invalidates her claims to "liberty and right and justice." Lynching is in this sense a menace to the dreams and labors of men for international order and goodwill.

More immediate, if not so fundamentally important, are the domestic aspects of lynching at this moment. Over seas have gone the hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers who have served the cause of America and her ideals of freedom on the battlefield with a valor second to no other group of citizens. They have answered the call to service—they have fulfilled the high obligation of national allegiance—they have many of them "paid the last full measure of devotion." Conscious as they have never been before of duty done, they are conscious also as never before of rights deserved. Already the Negroes in this country are

moving in resentment against the unfair treatment meted out to colored soldiers at the front. Soon they will be moving in equal resentment against the injustice practiced against all Negroes in political, economic and social relations here at home. "Jim Crow" laws, disfranchisement, racial discrimination of every kind, must go, if our democracy is not to crash to ruin before the outrage of the Negro problem. And first among all of these iniquities which must disappear is lynching. "To the black man," said Mr. Hughes, "who in this crisis has proved his bravery, his honor and his loyalty to our institutions, we certainly owe the performance of this duty (of justice), and we should let it be known from this time on, in recognition of that supreme service, that the black man shall have the rights guaranteed to him by the constitution of the United States."

What practical measures can be taken for the suppression of lynching, is a question which was not left unanswered by the New York Conference. A prompt and thoroughgoing investigation of the evil by Congress was demanded. A fund for the prosecution of the campaign against lynching was started, and a committee apponted to administer and sustain it. Most important, however, was the passage of a resolution, by unanimous vote, recommending that lynching be made a federal crime, to be punished by federal courts. This goes to the heart of the existing difficulty. Nothing can conceivably be accomplished in this matter, so long as the maintenance of justice and the vindication of law are left to the local communities which are themselves the mobs guilty of the crime. Only the supreme power of the nation, moved without fear or favor, can reach and purge away this vile abomination. And is it not altogether fitting, quite apart from expediential considerations, that this power should be invoked; for it is the nation which bears before the world the odium of this offence, and the moral responsibility at least for its continuance? It is gratifying to note that it was southerners as well as northerners who supported this drastic proposal!

At last, therefore, it would seem that a turning has come in this long, long lane of shame and horror. Is it not possible, indeed, that a new day is at hand for the Negro? The present situation is serious; ominous signs are not lacking. But the world is seeing that old injustices and hoary iniquities must be done away, if civilization is to endure, and this may mean an attempt to settle racial as well as national problems. Certainly a continuance, in intensified form, of the policy of oppression and suppression of our black brother here in America, can only spell the ultimate doom of the republic.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CONTRIBUTED

The Abolition of Neutrality

The League of Nations seems to be an accepted fact, but only on paper, because it is encountering a strong opposition in the United States as well as in the rest of the world, and because it has shown its weakness since its birth, if one may judge from the present international situation, in which the probabilities of war are more evident today than before the document of the League was completed. Such probability is especially evident between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs, Japan and China, and even between Germany itself and the Allies.

Therefore, at the present moment, no more valuable information or challenging food for thought suggests itself than that scholarly and very interesting volume, already reviewed in UNITY, "Why Italy Entered the Great War," written by Mr. Luigi Carnovale of Chicago soon after Italy joined the Allies.

Not only does it contain much inspiring historical data concerning the great Italian struggles for freedom in the past, and the lives of the famous Italian libertarians, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and others less known but equally devoted to the cause of liberty, but the diplomatic entanglements in which Italy was involved by her King and his Prime Minister just before and at the time of the breaking out of the war, are set forth in detail, and throw much light upon the causes underlying the present Italian situation and the methods whereby in Italy, as in almost every nation today, the leaders of the government seek to thwart the will of the people.

It is not alone to this portion of Mr. Carnovale's book, however, that today's student of international affairs should turn, but particularly to his very remarkable chapter on "Human Solidarity," in which he sets forth a point of view as interesting as it is unique. And whether or not one accepts it as an ultimate solution of the problem of a warless world, it is worthy of careful consideration.

In a phrase, the solution offered for the prevention of war is the abolition of neutrality. He urges that every nation, when a weaker nation is attacked by a stronger, should leap to arms in defense of the weaker nation, on the ground that "the cause of the weak is always beautiful, sacred and worthy of victory." Had the Central Powers, he contends, known that no nation would remain neutral, but that instantly, upon the attempted infringement of the independence of Serbia, the world would have taken up arms in her defense, they would never have entered upon their disastrous enterprise. To quote literally:

> War will be prevented only when the preaching of peace shall be transformed into a spiritual alliance of the peoples; only when it shall transform itself into the armed intervention of a people in defense of the weaker nation which is in the right, and which has been assaulted by the stronger nations which are in the wrong.

No one of forward looking mind can fail to endorse most earnestly the first part of this statement, that war will be prevented only by the spiritual alliance of the peoples, and elsewhere the author says that this spiritual alliance is but a forerunner of their political union. Concerning the next step, the method by which

this spiritual alliance shall be brought into effective action, there will doubtless be varying opinions.

Those internationalists who have long dreamed of a federation of the world, a genuine "parliament of man" in which the *peoples* of the world will organize the world in the interests of peace and universal brotherhood, will doubtless say that one main purpose of such an organization would be to bring about the very end the author desires, but with two points of difference: first, that such a federation would exhaust every possible moral and economic means of persuasion before resorting to armed force; and, second, that its forces would be used not against the stronger nation to secure military victory for the weaker, but against both nations to prevent war and to bring about a just, legal settlement of the dispute before a world court. But the establishment of such a democratic world-state seems at this moment further off than ever before, and the present League of Nations, as established by the diplomats at Paris, representing only the governments, and but part of those, seems more concerned with the preservation and perpetuation of the past economic and political world order than with the self-determination of small nations and the promotion of human liberty. And in the interim, before a democratic world-republic can be formed, such a plan as is suggested in this chapter may well be considered.

It of course is obvious that the weaker nation may not always be in the right, but it must be remembered that it is the *people,* and not the governments, upon which the author is relying for action. It is that fundamental sense of justice and right, that almost instinctive feeling for human liberty, characteristic of the masses of the people everywhere, which he believes could be depended upon to determine whether the weaker nation involved in any given case is right or wrong. It is this curious and intelligent sensitiveness of a simple, unspoiled, and, in our sense of the word, uneducated people to the principles of human justice that has brought about those amazing results in Soviet Russia which, if left unconquered by the armed forces of reaction, will give to the world a greater impetus toward real democracy than any it has known since the French Revolution. This sense is embodied in the remark once made to Napoleon: "There is somebody who knows more than you—that is everybody." This deep, spontaneous, untaught wisdom of the people puts to shame the self-seeking diplomacy of their rulers. Just as in the late war, the people of Italy, cognizant of the human issues involved, forced their government against its will and intention to enter the conflict in behalf of little Serbia and Belgium, so it seems probable that the people of any nation, since the people are always far ahead of their governments in love of liberty and devotion to justice, might in any given case force such action upon their governments as would bring about intervention on the side of right. It is this divine common sense of the people of the world which Mr. Carnovale embodies in his phrase, "Human Solidarity." It is of course only in this spiritual entente of the peoples of the world that the hope of the world lies today. The need is for them to learn how to make this force effective that they may more readily control their governments instead of being controlled by them. Then one might hope, not only for the defense of a weaker nation, but for such action on the part of the people of an aggressor nation as would prevent its aggression.

But apart from the hope of a world republic to prevent war, there are surely many telling arguments against neutrality, which only the out-and-out non-resistant who disbelieves in violence for any purpose whatever, may ignore. There is doubtless in most international quarrels, one side which is more nearly right than the other, and if one believes in force as a means of settling international disputes, one has very little excuse for not exerting that force on the side of the right. And certainly such so-called neutrality as this and other nations displayed during the early years of the war, which resulted only in the fabulous enrichment of the profiteers, and in rendering almost as much assistance to one side in the conflict as our armed intervention would have done, cannot be defended by any lover of justice, even a non-resistant. For the moral difference between firing a gun to kill a human being, and furnishing—at a fat profit—the gun to be fired, is surely microscopic. Under modern industrial conditions, neutrality becomes a mere name, and actual neutrality an impossibility for any commercial nation.

In the chapter above referred to, Mr. Carnovale makes valuable comment upon economic and industrial conditions and their relation to the causes of war, which I cannot refrain from quoting:

> The life of a nation nowadays depends in great part on essentially industrial bases constructed by the people, not for their own advantage but for the advantage of a cruel minority called plutocracy, which has nothing else in common with the people except their simple Darwinian origin.
>
> Such national industrialism, in order to maintain itself and prosper—always to the benefit of the minority—must push itself into commercial competition against the industries of another nation. This competition must be incessantly favored and defended by the state.
>
> Does a state government of the present day lend itself to a partnership so bold and so iniquitous?
>
> Certainly it does!

In other words, trade follows the flag and the army follows trade.

> Wars nowadays are made for ends essentially economic. . . . Nowadays war is made for the round bellies of the plutocrats. But who does the fighting? Is it the plutocrats who fight? The plutocrats only provoke and direct wars. Those who in reality bear the brunt of the war are the people whom the plutocrats dominate. . . .
>
> Plutocracies are the cause. Militarism is the effect. Can one destroy the effect without first destroying the cause?

As against the activities of the trade unions who "work to their own exclusive material advantage," and as soon as they have attained the material betterment for which they struck, are quieted, the author opposes that broader, all-inclusive expression of human solidarity, "Workmen of the world, unite!" And he points out, what everyone familiar with labor conditions has noticed, that

> when the (trade) unionists believe themselves well paid, they no longer fight the plutocrats. They recognize the legitimate existence of the plutocrats; they make them more solid . . . they even come to a point where they admire, magnify and idolize them.

In such strikes, even when the workers seem to have won, it is the employers who lose nothing. "That which they give with one hand they take with the

other." They raise the price of the commodity till it more than compensates for the raised wages, and this raise falls on the shoulders of the unionists not involved in that industry, on the great mass of ununionized "unskilled" workers, and "it falls therefore on the shoulders of that eternal, useful, patient, and beaten ass, the people."

The instances of the strike of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx employes in Chicago and the status of the Ford employes are given as examples of the attitude of well-paid workers, and surely the sycophancy of that diminishing labor group led by Samuel Gompers is another case in point. These things but tend to show that some broader basis than mere economic gain must animate and unite the peoples of the world. The author believes that this essential cohesive force may be found in their union for the military defense of the weaker nation in time of war, since it is the proletariats who suffer most from war. He says that in thus aiding weaker nations, in war-time, the positive forces of plutocracies are destroyed, or at least their destruction is begun.

But do the conditions apparent everywhere following the late war, prove that such action on the part of the people results in their own advancement? Has it not rather resulted, in most nations, in the enhancement of the power and wealth of the very plutocratic minorities which the author, and the people, seek to eliminate? The people of Britain, of France, of Italy, of America, entered this war in defence of the weaker nations attacked, and, they were told, in defence of the liberty of the world. But do they now find that the settlement of peace and of the future government and territorial limitations of the nations of the world are being arranged by the Garibaldi's and the Mazzini's? Or is it the Clemenceaus and other elderly appointees of the plutocratic governments who are seeking at Paris to preserve forever the dominance of such minority forces? Have they not for months united to attack by the armed force of their conscript armies, whose members are of the oppressed proletariats, the one nation, Russia, in which plutocracy was overthrown and the people in control? Are they not attacking with the same energy with which they formerly fought the plutocratic and imperialistic governments of the former enemy nations, those forces of the proletariat now in more or less complete control in those nations whose very rise to power aided so materially in bringing the end of the war? Could the peace terms that would have been demanded of the defeated Kaiser and the German monarchy, if still in power, have been more drastic than those now imposed upon the new German republic?

These are but a few of the many questions raised by reading Mr. Carnovale's exceedingly thoughtful and well-worked out thesis, and if the result of all this turmoil shall be the final triumph in both allied and central nations of the forces of the people over the forces of plutocracy, his contention will have been proven to all but that small minority who maintain that there is a better way than that of violence. But any comment on so comprehensive a work must needs be hopelessly inadequate and doubtless unfair. The volume itself, I repeat, should be read and studied with care at the present time.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

The Community Church*

By John Haynes Holmes

I.

For several weeks past, as most of you already know, I have been preaching in this pulpit a series of sermons on the general question of "The New Religion and the New Democracy." I have been trying to indicate, from various points of view, the new influences that are at work in our day in the religious world, and the changes that these influences are bound, sooner or later, to effect. I have declared again and again that the most conspicuous and significant result would be the passing of our churches as we know them at the present day, and the coming of a new religious institution which I have ventured to describe as the Community Church. What this new religious institution is in itself, how it is to be distinguished from other churches with which we are familiar, I have declined to point out, inasmuch as I have felt it advisable to get a background of theological and social thought before I proceeded to this important matter of definition. At last, however, this preliminary business may be said to be complete, and I come directly to the discussion of the Community Church as an organization expressive of the moral and spiritual ideals of modern times. What is the Community Church? How is it related to, or different from, the Catholic, Protestant, and liberal churches which we see about us at the present moment? What is its distinctive function as an institution of religion? How is it to succeed, where these other churches are so obviously failing? What is its minister to preach, and what are its people to do? These are the questions which I now propose to consider with you, as I bring this somewhat prolonged series of sermons to an end. Today I am to speak on the principles and organization of the Community Church. Next Sunday I shall complete my discussion of the subject, for the present at least, by speaking on the message and program of the Community Church. The two sermons together, I trust, will give to you something of the picture which I cherish in my mind of that church of the new democracy which I believe is so soon to come.

The first thing to make plain, in any definition of the Community Church, is the fact that this type of church is not to be confused with certain other experiments in religious organization, which have come into being in recent years as endeavors after a solution of the problem as to what is the matter with religion. The resemblance and indebtedness of the Community Church to certain of these newer undertakings in the same field, are not to be denied; but the difference between them is conspicuous and fundamental.

Thus, in the first place, the Community Church is not to be confused with what is known as the Union Church. This institution, which was once so popular, made its appearance at a time when the sectarian divisions of Christendom were coming to be recognized as a scandal, and the union of separate denominational churches in a single all-inclusive church was thought to be the method of bringing the scandal to an end. Such union, of course, was excellent in itself; but unfortunately it was made, and has always been made, in accordance with the old theological idea of a creed, or a statement of faith, as the basis of religious organization. The creed adopted by these union churches was always much simpler and broader than those which are to be found in the distinctively sectarian institutions. It therefore offered a wider basis of fellowship, and appealed to a larger variety of persons, than any church affiliated with a single denomination. But in essence the Union Church was much the same kind of an organization as all the other churches which had preceded it. It entered the lists, after all, as only one more of the innumerable religious sects which were scrambling for survival; and the fact that it has not succeeded in the struggle, except in certain out-of-the-way places, would indicate that it is ill-adapted to the circumstances and challenges of the time. The Community Church, exactly like the Union Church, seeks to bring to an end the scandalous sectarian divisions of the Christian world; but it believes that denominationalism is only one of the spiritual evils with which we have to deal, and it would meet this evil, and all others, by methods of reform much more drastic and revolutionary than

* Two sermons, preached on April 20 and April 27, respectively, and printed here in sections. For further study, see Joseph McAfee's "Religion and the New American Democracy."

any ever attempted by the milk-and-water movement for church unity.

Again, it is to be noted that the Community Church is not to be confused with the so-called Federated Church. This also is a movement directed to the ending of sectarian divisions. But it has the great advantage over the Union Church of eliminating the creed as a basis of organization, and substituting therefor a platform of practical activity. It recognizes, in a word, that people may work together who do not chance to hold the same theological beliefs. This marks an immeasurable gain in our understanding of the meaning of religion; and of this gain the Community Church insists upon taking the fullest possible advantage. In this elimination of the creed as a basis of organization, the Federated Church and the Community Church are absolutely at one. But in taking this step, the Federated Church makes the serious mistake of recognizing and working with existing ecclesiastical agencies. It seems perfectly content to take the religious world exactly as it finds it at the present moment. It accepts the various churches of Christendom as quite satisfactory expressions of moral and spiritual idealism. It sees nothing to be accomplished save the federation of these churches in a single working organization, to the end of increased economy and efficiency. The Community Church, of course, welcomes any attempt to bring religious persons and institutions together. But it believes that our churches, as they are now organized, are wholly unsatisfactory, and by undertaking revolutionary changes at the bottom, it would make federation at the top unnecessary.

In the third place, the Community Church is to be sharply distinguished from the so-called People's Church, which sprang up in such numbers during the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century. These institutions were essentially the embodiment of a protest on the part of intelligent and yet religiously-minded people against the dogmatic traditionalism of orthodox Christianity. They were the expression of a feeling on the part of thousands of men and women that religion and free inquiry are not necessarily incompatible, and that the deepest and highest sentiments of the spirit are not inconsistent with advances in human knowledge. The service which these institutions rendered to the cause of freedom in religion was well-nigh incalculable. The testimony which they bore to the essential soundness of the popular mind on questions religious and scientific alike, is one of the most impressive facts in Christian history. But the People's Church seldom ventured beyond the confines of rationalism. And now that the interest of religion has shifted from the theological to the social field, these institutions are rapidly disappearing. The Community Church inherits all of the splendid tradition of truth and freedom which the People's Church conferred upon the world, but it moves on to a work of thoroughgoing spiritual reconstruction, of which these churches never dreamed.

Lastly, may I point out that the Community Church is to be set quite apart from what we have come to know, and highly value, as the Institutional Church? This church, as we know it in such conspicuous instances as that of St. George's, for example, here in this city, is one of the great religious achievements of modern times. It is a monument to the awakening of Christianity, some twenty or thirty years ago, to the social responsibilities which it had so long and so scandalously neglected. It is the one successful attempt in our time to socialize religion by harnessing the church directly to the service of the community. In so far, now, as the Community Church is an institution vitally concerned with the application of religious power to social needs, this Institutional Church must be regarded as a kind of forerunner and model of the Community Church. It is only when we go behind the practical activities of the Institutional Church, and come to the church itself, that we discover how great is the difference between the two. For the Institutional Church, apart from its peculiar institutional features, is the same old church we have always known, with its denominational prejudices, its theological barriers, its undemocratic organization, and its timid acceptance of charity as the cure for injustice. The Institutional Church is simply the church attempting, by some cautious adaptations, to meet the social needs of the modern community. The Community Church, on the other hand, is primarily the community seeking to build out of its own inherent needs and desires, a new structure which shall be expressive of its highest spiritual life. Two years ago, in the startling spectacle of a leading institutional church of this city organizing active support of the "Billy" Sunday campaign, we had convincing demonstration that the Institutional Church is simply the old church in a new guise, after all.

The Community Church, therefore, is not to be confused with any of these newer types of church organization, which have been more or less conspicuous in recent years. It is something which stands by itself, as an original contribution to the religion of our time—and a contribution so important that I am inclined to believe that its coming will mark an era second only to the Protestant Reformation! And yet is the Community Church not to be regarded as something which has sprung into being all at once, like Athena full panoplied from the brow of Zeus. Not only by such movements as I have just been describing, but by others much more nearly related, has the Community Church been anticipated and prepared for. It is with the Community Church exactly as with the United States Constitution, for example! "This document," said Mr. Gladstone, "is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." "But," says John Fiske, in quoting this famous remark in his "The Critical Period of American History," "it would be in the highest degree erroneous to suppose that the Constitution of the United States is not, as much as any other, an instance of evolution from precedents." And as with the Constitution, so also with the Community Church! It is the result, not of sudden and arbitrary creation, but of a long continued process of evolution. It has had numerous "precedents," which have prepared the way and foretold the coming.

First of all among these, perhaps, is the Unitarian Church, with its freedom from dogma, its emphasis upon applied religion, and its glorification of the worth of the life that now is. Then there is the Positivist movement of Auguste Comte, which made so strong an appeal to the leading intelligences of Victorian England, by its reverence for science, and its deliberate exaltation of humanity. The Ethical Culture Society is another of these forerunners of the Community Church, as witness its rejection of creeds as a bond of union, and its interpretation of life exclusively in terms of moral idealism. Nor should we limit ourselves to such special and recent movements as these which I have named, for has not the whole of Christianity, at least its higher and nobler phases, been a preparation for this which is now come upon us? For it must never be forgotten, after all, that the Community Church is a church. It is no secular society, no mere social agency or organization. It is a church in the sense that its people will assemble on Sunday morning for fellowship and communion in the high things of the spirit. It is a church in the sense that its ministers will teach and preach, and thus lead the public counsels to heights of vision and understanding. It is a church in the sense that it will solemnize matrimony, christen little children, invest with dignity the last rites of the dead, and thus sanctify in every way the significance and blessedness of human life. It is a church in the sense that it will serve as a school of moral idealism, a refuge for hardship and distress, a fountain of good works, a power house for the generation of spiritual energy. It is a church in a thousand different ways in which men have understood and accepted and supported the church from the beginning of the world. Into its making, therefore, have gone a myriad "precedents" which are a part of all our religious history. From the first words of the first great prophet of the spirit, to the latest words of the latest liberal preacher, there run in unbroken line the influences which have brought this movement into being.

And yet the Community Church is something new—new at least in the sense that it is different from anything that we see about us at the present time, new for the reason that it is the product of certain democratic forces which have only recently entered into our social life. In defining such an institution, it is inevitable that I should emphasize those features which mark it off from the typical church with which we are familiar, and stamp it as a new phenomenon in religious history. I propose, therefore, to consider some of those characteristics of the typical church, with which the Community Church has no agreement, and thus indicate in each case what it is that sets this Community Church apart as an institution of almost revolutionary significance.

(*To be continued.*)

News from Europe

The Death of Rodin.—

War is, sometimes, no respecter of persons. War has taken young artists, poets, musicians, etc., etc., without compensation. Much has been made of the loss to art and literature of the young cut down in their promise and strength. Little, however, has been said of war's effect upon the artists who had arrived and given of their best to the world to make it a better, more beautiful place to live in. Judith Cladel, the sole legatee of the sculptor, Auguste Rodin, speaking of his last moments, said:

The incomparable artist, who bequeathed millions to France, died from pulmonary congestion and chill caused by the insufficient heating of the historic building he bequeathed to his country, and in which he lived at the close of his life. Notwithstanding pressing demands made even by the doctors attending him, Rodin was allowed to spend his last days in discomfort. Only two small rooms of the building were provided with any heating, and this was insufficient.

Alien Restriction and History.—

A new Alien Restriction Bill is under discussion in the British House of Commons, but no one believes it will reach the statute book in its present shape. The *Manchester Guardian,* in an editorial, says:

The bill was brought in chiefly to let down lightly all these embarrassed investors in a stock which has declined in value since we defeated Germany. The actual risk of our being invaded after the war by devastatory swarms of enemy aliens is about equivalent to Mr. Keating's risk of having his shop overrun with fleas. Still, there were faces to be saved, and Mr. Shortt did not blench at the task. The bill, in the main, continues the war treatment of enemy aliens for such a period as may give time for newspapers to find some other "stunt" and political candidates to make some other promises. At least a year is allowed for the completion of this moulting. During this time enemy aliens may be duly harried by Order in Council to any extent that may seem necessary in order to maintain the peace of mind of the moulting journalists and politicians. Thus it is left to a presumably different ministry to register, one or two years hence, the fact that the war is over. But, incidentally, the bill makes two more permanent changes in the law. One of these is a penal clause against any alien—not an enemy alien only, but any neutral or ally—who "does any act calculated or likely" to cause "sedition" (further interpreted by Mr. Shortt as "unrest") among the civil population of Britain. The value of this is that if, say, Mr. Gompers, the famous American labor leader, were to make a speech at a labor meeting in England which some sound Tory Home Secretary considered to be conducive to "unrest," he could get him a special ration of ten years' penal servitude instead of the quantity allotted by the ordinary law to the native British disturber of capital's peace. Or if M. Clemenceau were to make in London one of the somewhat upheaving declarations on which his pre-war fame rested in France, he could on summary conviction be given three months. If ancient Rome and Greece had anticipated the spirit of this sagacious provision there might have been a considerable disturbance of ecclesiastical history by its application to St. Peter and St. Paul, who, while technically citizens of the Empire, were no doubt regarded as the most objectionable of aliens by the Bottomleys and Pemberton Billings of Athens and Rome. Another clause provides that an alien may "promote industrial unrest" in an industry in which he is engaged, but not in one in which he is not engaged. Thus, if he be a railwayman and an official of his union, he may advise a railwaymen's strike, but if he advise a strike of the "triple alliance" he may be sent to prison for three months. A man who can split a hair of that thinness ought to go far. These little digs at the friendly neutral and at the ally breathe again the genial spirit in which a Frenchman landing in England in the seventeenth century used to be followed through the streets of Dover with cries of "French dog!"

France and Faith.—

The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent at Paris is responsible for the following timely expression of opinion:

France fears for her future security, and in her anxiety has persuaded herself that her only safeguard is to bind the enemy in chains of steel. The counsel is one of despair, and is only possible because France fails to recognize how strong in reality her position is today, and may remain if only the right course is taken. At present every advantage is in her favor. Germany is surrounded by a world of enemies, but France by a world of friends. Surely, the true aim that should be followed is not to prevent Germany from gaining friends—that was the astute but fallacious policy followed by Bismarck in regard to France after 1871, and it ended in utter failure—but to prevent France from losing them. That end can be achieved if France pursues a policy of strict justice and moderation, and in no other way.

What is the conclusion of the whole matter? The great need not only of France but of Great Britain and the world is a large outpouring of faith and hope. Let these be given to men, and charity itself, the greatest of the three, will come in due time, begotten of their blessed union. Statesmen here are every day talking eloquently about humanity—deputation after deputation arrives from that underworld of Eastern European nationalities, now happily emancipated, which we Western peoples have so little heeded in the past. But what is the good of appealing to humanity and apostrophising it in eloquent periods if at heart we have no faith in humanity? It is faith in mankind and in a better future, a deeper consciousness of the need of a new life and of the will and power to live it, that are wanted in the world today. Nought else will lighten to France the weight of the prevailing incubus of doubt, dread and foreboding and enable her to face the coming years of trial with stout heart, serene soul and clear vision.

We hope this high appeal comes not too late.

Freedom and Prejudice.—

Freedom is the goal, and likewise the condition of Progress; Progress is the condition and the test of Life; to have Life, and to have it more abundantly, is the secret of Happiness, or welfare, for man and woman, whether as citizens of this world, or of all worlds. How long shall we bow our knees all too devoutly in the Houses of Prejudice? Our false gods, the Dagons of the Cave and the Forum, of Theater and Tribe, and all the rest, are one and all anachronisms, whose place, if any, is not in our temples, much less in our hearts and minds, but in our museums of Antiquities and our catalogues of Iniquities.

But how to be rid of them? How to emancipate ourselves? The antidote and cure for Prejudice lies in two positive virtues, the Love of Truth and the Love of Adventure, or, to use one word which unites the twain, in Curiosity. No mere Prejudice can long withstand the question. Let it be challenged; let it stay and deliver its reason, if it ever had one; let it make good its right to exist, and it shall pass on through the gate of Horn; if it fail, as a Prejudice, once challenged, is bound to fail, it shall sink through the door of ivory to the Limbo of lost illusions and delusions. The prejudices of one generation are the superstitions of the next and the laughing-stock of the third. The Love of Truth, the desire to know, to come by the reason of things, the root of the whole matter, is fatal to the irrational, the absurd, or even the merely antiquated—that indeed is its negative value, its value as a negation. Positively it is the eye of the soul, the life of life, the earnest of immortality. And so too with the Love of Adventure, which is but curiosity, or the love of truth, exercising itself in the sphere of conduct and external action. Every life is a laboratory of experiments, every experiment is an adventure, which melts and purges and refines a prejudice, till it may be fit to fuse itself with our Life's science and our Life's art; for Life is a failure if it be not a thing of truth and of beauty and a joy for ever.—*Spectator.*

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE DEMAND FOR A NATIONAL BUDGET.

In Paul M. Wauburg's address before the United States Chamber of Commerce, at St. Louis, we have at last a business man's clear and interesting statement of an interesting question. We have long wondered why government finances should be managed in such a hit-or-miss fashion. The following article is worthy of serious consideration:

"But a country called upon to submit to the heaviest possible burden of taxation is entitled to a very definite assurance that after the establishment of peace its government will, with equal care, weigh every penny it appropriates and spends, and that government will thus do its own full share in readjusting the watered balance sheet.

"I believe that I am voicing the sentiment of the majority of all thinking Americans when I say that in this respect the hour calls for thorough reform. A more careful and scientific study of our national receipts and expenditures is required than has been given heretofore. Congress must relegate to the past its haphazard methods of appropriating expenditures through numberless committees, all acting independently from one another, and without having any comprehensive picture of what are the available revenues. It is high time that a national budget system be adopted, such as enjoyed by every other great country, and that before granting the appropriations called for by departments, boards, or committees, a thorough investigation and report be made as to what revenues may safely be counted upon.

"Receipts and expenditures should be brought into harmony and a complete budget should be examined and prepared by non-partisan experts who would make their report to the President, before the latter sends the budget to Congress for further action.

"Congress, it is hoped, will take the necessary steps to concentrate in a few committees the responsibility of passing upon and perfecting such budget and of securing action upon the same at an early period of the session, and before additional appropriations can be considered.

"The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, through a previous vote, stands committed to the recommendation of a national budget system; it would appear most timely to renew our efforts in this respect.

"In view of the growing magnitude of our government's operations, directly and indirectly affecting the pocketbook of every citizen, it is no more than wise and just that there should be established a staff of men correlating the fiscal operations of the various departments and branches of government, and after fair-minded expert examination, making their report without fear or favor. How far to apply taxation, how far to resort to loans, when and how far to apply taxation to amortization are only a few of the many puzzling problems that would engage the attention of those charged with the duty of preparing and paring a national budget.

"Presidents, cabinet members, assistant secretaries, senators and congressmen come and go, the intricate questions of raising our vast revenues in a scientific, fair and economic manner has come to stay. The creation of non-partisan expert bodies should be encouraged representing the permanency and continuity of knowledge and policy in matters of business, as against free and rapid fluctuations inherent to the political life of a healthy democracy.

"Eventually we may hope to see established a permanent 'business cabinet' composed of the heads of our non-partisan boards and commissions and advising the President in matters of technical administration to be judged from a non-political standpoint, in a similar manner as his political cabinet deals with problems to be treated from a more partisan point of view. A consideration of that question, tempting as it may be, would lead us, however, beyond the topic of the discussion which these few remarks of mine are designed to invite."

Is it not about time that the business man interested himself in these matters? Are we not entitled to know each year—in advance—what our budget is to be, and how it is to be spent? H. S. N.

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION AND FESTIVAL

of the Free Religious Association of America.

Friday, May 23, 1919, Boston.

THE CONVENTION

Friday, May 23, at 10 a. m.

Lorimer Hall. Tremont Temple.

Subject: "The Community Church: Is it the Next Step in Democratic Religion?" The President, John Haynes Holmes, in the chair.

Addresses by: John Haynes Holmes, Founder of the Community Church of New York City, Editor of UNITY.

Elvin J. Prescott, Minister of the Community Church, Westwood, Mass.

W. T. Colyer, formerly Lecturer for the British Labor Churches.

George W. Coleman, Director of the Ford Hall Meetings.

THE FESTIVAL

Friday, May 23, 1919.

Luncheon at one o'clock.

Hotel Westminster

Trinity Place and St. James Avenue, Copley Square, Boston.

General Subject: "Democracy and Religion in Social Action" (a continuation of the dicussion of the morning, with special reference to some of the pressing problems of our time.)

Toastmaster: George Grover Mills, Secretary, Free Religious Association.

Brief Addresses by: John Haynes Holmes, President, Free Religious Association.

Charles F. Dole, Author, Preacher, Champion of Unpopular Causes.

Charles Fleischer, Leader, Sunday Commons, Boston.

Jessica L. C. Henderson, Humanitarian and Publicist.

Frank Carlton Doan, Author, "Religion and the Modern Mind."

William DeKerlor, Philosopher and Teacher, of Poland.

Charles C. Ramsay, Attorney-at-Law, Lecturer and Rationalist.

Henry W. Pinkham, Independent Preacher and Critic.

Harry Levi, Rabbi, Temple Israel, Boston.

George Nasmyth, Author, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory."

ANNUAL BUSINESS AND FELLOWSHIP MEETING

Friday evening, May 23, at 8 o'clock at the

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General Subject: "Free Religion: Today and Tomorrow."

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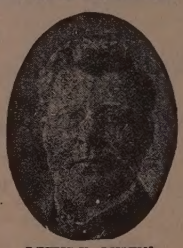

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